1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go.

[134] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which
[133] is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly
[48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar,
123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us.
262 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots
252 are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.)
[415] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty-
[323] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done
[439] the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It
[263] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt
[317] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Gof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

412 The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried
[482] about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted
hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver,
323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made
286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is
285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin
714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both
411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes,
301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and
plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the
septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both
sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons
cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel.
[821] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is
584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the
initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does
not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One
847 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal
845 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.
583
591

411 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted
595 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are
794 two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either
[532] minjema or yenena; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into
[534] the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

787 turned his flashlight on her. They told Nemb to turn off the light, and then they all (Mar , Chimuwa and Ugangaya) wrenched the stick away from her, dragging her around the floor to do it. After they had gotten it away, she remained lying on the floor and was lifted onto a sago bark bed where she was left. She did not move and was no longer held. Then Marok squatted beside her and began talking to her very quietly and sympathetically asking her what was the matter. She said she was asleep and possessed by a ghost. Marok asked her who the ghost was but got no answer. Then he began listing the possibilities. "Was it so and so, or such and such, or the other?" He got no response. For a long time he got none ; the mosquitoes were eating me up, so I left.

This morning they told me (Mar and Gwiyap) that in the evening they had all been at Wof's (Ugangai, Awambaka, Ewiya, Chimuwa, Wof and his wife). [276] Awambaka had been chewing betel, and all of a sudden the ghost had taken possession of her. She had shut her eyes, grabbed a stick and began playing about with it. Chimuwa and Ugangai had caught her and held her. Wof had told them to carry her to Mar's house. This they did. I had arrived soon after.

The ghost who had taken possession of her turned out to have been Marok's older brother (deceased). His message was that he was cross at Marok and Mar for cutting his sago. (Mar said that they would not cut it any more.) The general tone of Marok's pumping her was her answering yes [123] or no to his suggestions. The ghost also said he was cross at Wof and May, and when I was there, my house was mentioned.

534 February 22, 1937. Mar was down by the house tamberan bilasing Yat's gong. 323 Kar was working bushbank and cutting grass by the house tamberan, and Marok was making large pots for his new house. Yat visited in the afternoon.

323 531 123 201 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this afternoon and did card tricks for Kwiya and Awa. Their reaction was to close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and forefinger and bite the lower lip. Chinuwa came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Kwiyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and War came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and War must have disturbed the marselai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 578 February 38, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to Wonuma, War's younger brother. Wonuma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill the levirate with War. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. War had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this War beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerize him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

578 -103-

114 [224] near War's. He was building a bannis (trap) to shoot a pig; he followed us around while we were shooting. We got a hornbill -- Mar and Mes cut it up. Apokwiyampa took part home and ate it with Pokodaya. Then toward evening they both came back to sleep with us. The mosquitoes were terrific. We sat about talking for a while and then decided to get the flutes which were at Mar's . We played the flutes for a couple of hours. Apokwiyampa was teaching Mar and Mes. He was very patient with them. He would sing out the tune for them, and then they would try it. Finally we built a fire under the bed and slept. Mar and Mes slept on one, Poka and Apokwiyampa on the other. This morning Pokadaya left early. Mar, Mes and I had breakfast and then went to look at Apokwiyampa's trap. Then we went back to the house. Mes took a short trip and came back with a bunch of bananas. They were Latai's, but since Mes is his nephew, it is all right. We cooked and ate some. He gave the rest to me but asked me to pay Latai. Awambaka and Apinokw came to help carry my bed back, and we returned. Poketaya and Apok came too. War is taking out yams.

[154] Yamangamp came to get some water with a lantern. He went back to Wisep's house and called out to me that he saw a man running down the road to the house tamberan. He yelled to Mar and May. They went down to the house tamberan to find Wof, Marok et al there. They came out and claimed to see his tracks going down past Marok's house. They thought he was someone coming to hear them talk of poison. Yamai was looking out for poison. (Mamb and Mar are away, and he is jumpy - he stayed awake all last night.) May explained that all the big men walk about at night. They were not afraid of a man's bone.

323 March 7, 1937. Marok fired his pots this afternoon. Two men came from 754 Wanyabankura this evening. They were making the rounds of Nongwam, getting 755

Pottery Manufacture

323 Ochre colored earth is obtained and worked with water with a piece of stick a foot long, one to two inches in diameter, on a sago bark slab. There are numbrous pits in the vicinity where the proper material for pottery can be obtained. When the mixture has been thoroughly pounded, lumps are taken and rolled out into coils with the palm of the hand on another bark slab. The long narrow leaf of the ngole plant (which produces motí, the red berried 1' - 2' cobbwhose seeds are boiled and eaten) is taken and coiled so that it resembles a large raised doughnut. Additional leaves are coiled diagonally and fastened so that the "doughnut" ring keeps its shape. These leaf rings vary in size for small or large pots. Several may be seen about the house. They are called songuesala.

[824] [192] [262] [192]

When the clay materials are ready, a large leaf or two freshly picked are placed across the coil. Then a rope of clay is taken and put onto the leaves and threaded around the form clockwise. The pots are not flat bottomed but rounded-- like a hemisphere of a coconut shell split lengthwise. As coils are added to build up the side they are pressed down firmly. There is little flare to the side walls.

The inner walls are smoothed with the ulnar side of the second joint of the index finger in a counter-clockwise fashion. The outside is smoothed with the palm of the hand.

When the pots have been completed they are left in the sun to dry for several weeks before firing. To fire a pot, three stones are arranged in a triangle and the pot is propped on these with a stick, on its side. Dry sago spathes are packed around the outside and inside, and then burned. Pots are usually fired inside the house, although they are sometimes moved into the sun. It is thought that one must not speak loudly while pots are being baked, for they may break.

323
531
192 Incised decorations on clay pots

wŋnjí (usually on top rim of pot)

ŋmbeŋ

mbonŋmbonŋ

miri (eyes)
ŋmoŋnii (nose)
kwinjí (mouth)